1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

796 the extra *padi*, etc. they will be needing. If they fail to do this they may be com-
511 pelled to abandon, or to modify their plans, and this is no uncommon occurence.
592 At every series of rituals which I attended, the crowded galleries of those who were holding *gawai* were interspersed with the unfrequented apartments of families lacking the means to compete with their neighbours. The average *bilek* family only performs major *gawai* at fairly rare intervals—say about once every eight to ten years; and poor or new households may go for even longer than this without large scale celebrations.

796 238. It is a great mistake to think of the Iban as engaging year after year in a
511 succession of Gargantuan feasts and Bacchanalian carousals. This may be the extravagant consummation of which some dream, but it is nothing more than a dream. During the period of my observations at Rumah Nyala (1949-51), no
764 major *gawai* were held—with the exception of a series of *gawai lumbong*—the obligatory last rites of the dead. The same applied to the neighbouring long-houses in the lower Sungai Sut. The end of the harvest was celebrated by the making of offerings and accompanied by the drinking of *tuak*—but these were very modest celebrations lasting for only part of one day. It is also important to realize that all the major *gawai* of the Iban are serious religious occasions. To call them "feasts", as has become the popular practice, is to invite misunderstanding of their significance. True enough, all large scale *gawai* are accompanied by much eating and drinking and a good deal of revelry, but this is always subservient to their primary purpose which is the invocation of gods so that certain definite advantages may be obtained.

239. In performing one of these major *gawai* a *bilek* family may use from 50 to 80 gantangs of *padi*—in making offerings, as food, and in brewing *tuak*. In addition there are various other expenses, some of which are usually met by the sale of *padi*. It is unlikely however, that a *bilek* family would expend more than 12-15 bushels of *padi* in the staging of a large scale *gawai*, such for example, as a *gawai kenyalang* or a *gawai ijok pumpong*, But, as already mentioned, the performance of major rituals is a rare event in the life of the average *bilek* family. Lesser rituals (e.g. *gawai bulu*, *gawai panggau*, *gawai sukat*, etc.) call for much smaller resources, and would involve the expenditure of only two or three bushels of *padi*. In the normal course of the year every *bilek* family requires a certain
782 amount of *padi* for the offerings (*piring*) which accompany customary seasonal
511 rituals. These are mainly associated with the rites of *padi* cultivation; but in addition there are occasional offerings which have to be made in treating the sick, in revoking the effects of a bad dream or evil omen, or in making propitious some journey or enterprise. In normal years not more than about 20 gantangs of *padi* need be expended in performing these recurrent and prescriptive rites, and this—I would suggest—is a reasonable miminum figure.

273 240. The amount of *tuak* (rice beer) prepared by a household in any one year
511 depends on the kinds of rituals which it holds. For important *gawai* a family may make 40 or more gallons of *tuak*, from the glutinous rice (*padi pulut*) which has been especially grown for the occasion. During an ordinary year however, only a small quantity is needed for ritual purposes (i.e. for inclusion in *piring*, in pouring libations, etc.). In 1950, for example, some of the families of Rumah Nyala who had very poor crops, made only one or two gallons of *tuak*. Except in years when a good surplus has been obtained, few families would expend more than about 10 gantangs of *padi* on the brewing of *tuak*.

2: Howell M-5 (ca. 1908) 1908-1910
OC6 Iban OC6

243 The putting by of the paddy is a hard morning's
273 work. Friends are invited to assist. After the work is over everybody sits down to a good breakfast. Toddy is liberally distributed, and the day generally ends in drunkenness.

243 The Dyaks believe that the implements for farm-
774 ing and the paddy bins can eat and drink, they are therefore personified by them.

243 A great many ceremonies are performed on the
789 paddy bins after the paddy is stored in them. Charms of various kinds are placed on the paddy which are known as medicines to cause the paddy to increase in the bins. To some of these charms offerings are given.

[p. 45]

3: Low G-5 (1844-1847) 1848
OC6 Iban OC6

people, they have not introduced polygamy, or, with the exception of slavery, any other of their reprehensible practices. The ceremony of marriage, as far as I have learnt, is very simple, and consists merely in the persons, who have previously agreed upon the point, living together, and a feast being made on the occasion to which all who choose may repair. Their marriage feasts, like all the others, usually end in the whole of the persons assembled becoming intoxicated with a fermented beverage which they make from rice, and which they affirm they were taught by the Chinese. The state of morality amongst the Sakarran and Sambas Dyaks is strangely more lax than in any of the other tribes. It is affirmed, and they themselves have frequently told me, that it is the common custom for the unmarried women to have amongst the similarly situated of the other sex, lovers to whom they are liberal of their favours: this proceeds with the knowledge and consent of the parents for some time, but if the girl should prove pregnant, the father of the child must take the mother for his wife; but if the connexion should long continue without the attainment of this desired result, the acquaintance is discontinued, and they each seek new sharers of their loves. Should they not be constant to each other during this stage of their intimacy, the offence, though public, never becomes an occasion of scandal to either person concerned, and nothing is said of it except, perhaps, by the one who has been deceived.

4: Roth E-4 (no date) 1891 OC6 Iban OC6

to their back with a cloth. It is also their duty to put the paddy out to dry on the *tanjus* (open air platform) and to watch it from the *ruai* (covered verandah) to keep the fowls away from it. They have besides to prepare the cotton, and to spin the yarn, to prepare the dyes, and to weave clothing for themselves and their families. After the harvest, they brew the toddy, which is preserved in jars and produced upon special occasions as a great treat. So that altogether they have generally as much work as they can well get through.

They are fond of their children, and the children are fond of them. Indeed, the latter are quite spoilt, and the more mischievous a boy is the prouder they are of him, and prognosticate great things from him when he gets older. They clothe their children earlier than the Malays do, disliking to see them run about naked. They rarely if ever punish them when naughty, so that they grow up wayward and self-willed, and though they are extremely fond of their parents they do pretty much as they please, and not as they are told. As they grow older, however, they do as they are required, not caring to displease their relations.

The young women receive their male visitors at night; they sleep apart from their parents, sometimes in the same room, but more often in the loft. The young men are not invited to sleep with them unless they are old friends, but they may sit with them and chat, and if they get to be fond of each other after a short acquaintance, and wish to make a match of it, they are united in marriage if the parents on either side have no objections to offer. It is in fact the only way open to the man and woman to become acquainted with each other, as privacy during the day time is out of the question in a Dyak village.

When a girl is visited for the first time by a stranger, he is rarely received, but if he comes several nights running, she then believes him to be in earnest, especially if he declares he means no harm, but is in search of a wife. She will then sit up with him, and after chewing *sirih* and betel nut, they discourse, often through the medium of a jew's harp, one handing it to the other, asking questions and returning answers, and conversing upon all manner of topics until the day begins to break, and it is time for him to grope his way back. If he continues to pay her attention after this, she may even invite him to lie down and sleep beside her, but her complaisance ends at this point. If he dare to take a liberty with her person, she is sure to cry out, her relatives are at hand to maul him, naked weapons would be thrown at him unless he make good his escape, and even if he do this they can bring him to book the

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

462 work, husk and pound the rice they eat, cook, weave, make mats and baskets, fetch the water for their daily use from the well or river, and attend to the children.

511 The Dyak is frugal. He does not as a rule seek to accumulate wealth, but he is careful of whatever he may earn. He plants each year what he supposes will produce sufficient rice to supply his own needs—a portion of this is for family consumption, a portion for barter for such simple luxuries as tobacco, salt fish, cloth, etc., and a third portion for hospitality. If he happen to have an exceptionally good harvest, he may sell some paddy, and the money thus obtained is not lavishly squandered, but saved with the object of investing in gongs or other brassware, old jars, etc., which do not decrease in value with age. On such occasions as feasts nearly all the food and drink used are home products or begged from [271 friends. A Dyak drinks water as a rule, but if he takes ●273] alcohol in any form, it is a home-brewed rice spirit (*tuak*). To spend money upon anything which he can make for himself, or for which he can make a substitute, is, in his opinion, needless waste.

577 The Dyak in his jungle home is remarkably honest. Families are often away from their homes for weeks at a time, living in little huts on their farms, and though no one is left in charge of their rooms, things are seldom [674 stolen. Sometimes Dyaks become demoralized by associating with other races in the towns, but a case of theft among the Dyaks in their native wilds is indeed rare. I have not been able to discover any enactment of traditional law which fixes the punishment for theft. It has not been necessary to deal with the subject at all. In my missionary travels in Borneo I have often left by mistake in a Dyak house some small thing like a soap-

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

852 friends and relations on the occasion. Where the parents are better off, the ceremony is held a few weeks after the birth of the child. Several witch-doctors are asked to take part in this performance. A portion of the long open veranda of the Dyak house is screened off by large, hand-woven Dyak sheets (*puah*), and within these the mother sits with her child in her arms. The medicine men walk round and round, singing some incantation. Generally there is a leader, who sings by himself for a few minutes; then he pauses, and turns round to his followers, and they all sing in chorus. Then the leader sings by himself again, and so on. They all walk round, first turning their feet to the right and stamping on the floor, then pausing a moment and turning their feet to the left, still stamping. This ceremony begins in the evening, and goes on for several hours. When it is over, food is brought out to the assembled guests, and all partake of the provided feast.

852 556 574 The proceedings differ very much according to the wealth and standing of the parents. Among the poor it is a very quiet affair—two or three witch-doctors attend, and only the near relatives of the child are present. On the other hand, among those who are rich, this ceremony is made the occasion of holding a great feast, and inviting people from all parts to attend. Pigs and fowls [273] are killed for food. Jars of *tuak* (a spirit obtained from rice) are brought forth for the guests to drink, and all are invited to rejoice with the parents.

563 The naming of the child is not made the occasion for any ceremonies, and it is not unusual to meet children of seven or eight years old who have not yet received a name. They are known by some pet name, or are called *endun* (little girl), or *iput*, or *anggat* (little boy).

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

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at feasts, when a cup of spirit is given to a man, he drinks the contents and keeps the cup, and it is no unusual thing to see a man returning from a feast with twenty or thirty cups in his possession.

There is a good deal of deceit and humbug and a little clumsy sleight-of-hand on the part of the *manang*, and an unlimited amount of faith on the part of the patient. The *manang* must be conscious of his own deceit, but he believes that his incantations do good, and I have often known cases of *manangs* having these ceremonies for members of their own family who are ill. But as a rule a *manang* is not a truthful man at all. He is not above telling any number of lies to increase his importance. He always pretends to have had previous knowledge of what is going to happen, and often says, when he is called in to a case, that he knew some time previously that his patient would be ill and come to him for help.

There can be no doubt that the average Dyak knows that there is a great deal of deceit connected with the *manang's* profession, but he also knows he must submit to that deceit if he wishes to have his help, and he believes that in some way the incantations and remarkable actions of the *manangs* help to scare away the evil spirit which is the cause of the disease.

I remember that one of my schoolboys was on a visit to his relatives in Saribas. His sister was ill, and his parents sent for the *manangs* to cure her. The boy protested. He said they were Christians, and ought not to make incantations to the spirits. But no notice was taken of what he said. The *manang* went through the usual farce of "catching the soul" and restoring it to the girl. The boy looked on, and when it was over said to him:

"You are a fraud. You know you cannot 'catch the

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

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the man of greatest importance having the longest pole.

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The first day of the feast is spent in completing the carving and the colouring of these *tenyalang* and making other final preparations. The guests are entertained with food and drink. As Dyak hosts are considered niggardly if there is no drunkenness at a feast, the young men are encouraged to drink as much as possible. The Dyak girls, who do not drink themselves, serve out the *tuak*, or native spirit. They hand a cup of liquor to a man and shout, "*Weh! Weh!*" as he drinks it. When he has finished it, he puts the cup down by his side to take home with him when the feast is over. Another full cup is handed to him in the same manner, and he goes on drinking until he is unable to do so any longer. A group of young men seated in the public hall of the Dyak house surrounded by gaily-dressed girls serving them with drink is not a pleasant sight. The noise and confusion are great, as many are drunk. Plates containing cakes and other delicacies, as well as rice cooked in bamboos, are handed round to the men, women, and children at short intervals.

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A rather pretty ceremony takes place on the first day of the feast. A number of women dressed in their best garments and wearing all the jewellery and ornaments they possess, walk in single file, holding in their hands plates of yellow rice and paddy. They are led by a Dyak dancer in full war-dress, armed with sword and shield, and dancing to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The women sprinkle the paddy and yellow rice on the assembled guests as they walk slowly the length of the whole house.

On the second day of the feast the painted figures of the rhinoceros hornbill are first of all *timangol*, or sung to